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Editor and Proprietor.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION OF THE STATES.....THEY "MUST BE PRESERVED."

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SPEECH

OF THE
Hon. Jesse A. Bynum, of N. Carolina,
In the House of Representatives, March 13, 1838.
On the bill making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses of the Government for the year 1838; in reply to Mr. HALSTEAD, of New Jersey, on his motion to strike out the appropriation for the completion of a jet d'eau in the public grounds in front of the Capitol.

Mr. BYNUM rose, he said, to express his utter surprise and astonishment at the extraordinary speech which had just been concluded by the member from New Jersey. He was entirely at a loss for language to express the feelings he entertained for the singular & extraordinary course which that member had seen fit to pursue on that occasion. He declared that he had never before, since he had had the honor of a seat on that floor, witnessed any thing to compare with it, in many particulars. In the whole course of his legislative experience he had never witnessed any thing so unnecessary, so little called for, and so entirely inappropriate to the occasion.

The member had commenced his extraordinary remarks with a view, he said, of opposing an insignificant appropriation for a jet d'eau in the area of the Capitol. Yes, sir, the member, in discussing the appropriation for this little jet d'eau, had taken it upon himself to pour out the bitterness that had probably been generating in him for years, against those to whom he was politically opposed. Without the remotest provocation, he had made a most wanton and unjustifiable attack upon the whole Democratic party, towards whom he had used language which decency and respect for the place he occupied there should have prohibited.

The member had surely forgotten where he was, and whom he represented. He [Mr. B.] could not bring himself to believe that the language or sentiments which he had just heard delivered, were truly representative of the feelings, language, and sentiments, of the freemen of New Jersey, towards the friends of this or any other administration. He knew such was not the course that had met or would meet the approbation of the respectable portion of that party to which the member professed himself to belong. He had no doubt that such a course would be repudiated by every high-minded man of that party, and would be by any other. He had already heard members of the party uttering expressions of disgust at such a course, at such a time and on such an occasion.

He believed it was the same member, who in a speech at the extra session had distinguished himself in a way nearly as singular and extraordinary. This member then had electrified, no doubt, as he thought, the House some hours, with the most classic quotations, from nearly, he said, from the time that he consumed in delivering them, the third of a volume of Shakspeare's plays, as much from Ovid, and the Lord knew how much of Horace; and from what other school-books he was not now prepared to say.

The member then exhibited himself as a pure classic scholar, and a worthy representative of the true "decency party," to which he believed no person objected, and the member was left unmolested in the full fruition of the honors he had achieved in this school-boy and classic exhibition; and, sir, for the honor of the State, and the credit of the member himself, it would have been well for him not to have departed from those innocent classic juvenile exhibitions ever here, and so long as the member had been disposed to confine himself to such innocent indulgence, he [Mr. B.] would have been the last there to have interposed, to have cast a single censure upon his course.

But what a contrast had the member from N. Jersey's [Mr. HALSTEAD] conduct then exhibited, with that on the occasion to which he then alluded? What a stupendous fall, had all present witnessed, in the conduct of that member then and on the present occasion! Then he addressed us almost exclusively in the refined language of Shakspeare, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and other classic poets; now, sir, the whole of the member's quotations have been made, evidently, from tippling shops, pot houses, and cross-road inns—his language and figures are with such exactness, that they bear with them almost the fume of those places.

That member, having certainly lost sight of the place he occupied, in his brilliant effusions had denounced the Democratic party as, as—Mr. Speaker, I am loath to use it—Van Jacks.—What a most classic epithet! What a polite, classic and distinguished taste it exhibits! and from what source comes it? Is it possible that the member could have learned such classic epithets at Princeton? Could he have brought them from old Nassau, at which place, perhaps, he may have been? If so, it certainly does an honor to that venerable institution, of which she will, doubtless, never be found to boast. Van Jacks!

That member surely intended such language for another place, and other ears. "He stands solitary and alone," let me say, I believe, in having the honor of being the first of his party that has ever condescended to employ that epithet for the edification of the galleries here—for, I am sure, he could not have intended it for the ears of the honorable members of this House. Epithets illy suited to the pretensions of a member of a party that professed, and have long since monopolized to themselves, all the "decency" of the country. As much as I have mingled in soci-

ty for years past, I do not ever recollect to have heard the first respectable man, of either party, however zealous as a partisan, condescend to employ it in serious debate. I never have seen it but once or twice, and then employed by the lowest and dirtiest kennel press; and certainly had never expected that a member of this House would have so far lost that respect that was due to it, as to employ it here; and the member will certainly hereafter stand so far pre-eminently distinguished above all his predecessors.

The member had used another epithet truly illustrative of his fund of classic epithets; he had denounced the Democracy as the "spoils party." This, no doubt, he has procured from another quarter, whose classic beauty had seized tenaciously on the refined fancy of the member from New Jersey. With this classic epithet, too, the member seemed to be no less pleased than with his "Van Jacks." I think I have heard him use it before, and turn it in his mouth as some precious morsel most agreeable and delicious to his classic taste. Sir, we all have our peculiar tastes, and most assuredly I shall envy not the member from New Jersey for his. "The spoils party!"

What was the member and his party after, if it were not the spoils of office, as they choose to call them. They had them once, but used them in such a manner as to induce the people to take them away from them, and this seemed to be the "old grudge," from the classic remarks with which that member had honored the House today. The object of these catchwords the people understood, I presume, as well as the member from New Jersey, or nearly so, though they may not possess as much of his classic learning; and if the member intended them for his constituents alone, he had certainly paid a poor compliment to their intelligence and plain common sense, which had ever been so greatly undervalued by the party to which that member belonged. It was to the misapprehension of the intelligence of the plain common people throughout the country, that the invariable defeat and overthrow of that party had ever been attributable, more than to any other cause. It was the "accursed rock" upon which their political bark had so often been wrecked, and it was in the teeth of this oft-repeated lesson of experience that the member from N. Jersey was still rushing ahead to repeat again the experiment. Whether he would be found more successful than those who had preceded him of his party, depended much upon the intelligence of that particular portion of people whom the member might represent here; but unless they were far behind the times, and in the rear of their brethren in other sections, the destiny of that member is already decided. The people are often deceived by their newspapers and public speakers; but, in time, they have never failed to right themselves.

But the member from New Jersey seemed to express an "inherent horror" at the very sound of the word Democracy, as though it were something foul and loathsome to the touch, that stained the mouth that uttered it; nor was he alone in being smitten with this horror, whenever that word was announced there. Sir, what is there so horrible in the word Democracy, that should make gentlemen tremble and turn pale with scorn whenever it is mentioned here, and which they were continually in the habit of speaking of with such dread and terror? What was the true meaning of this word, Democracy? According to my reading, it is derived from the two Greek words *demo*, the people, and *cratia*, their rule, or control, and simply means the people's control, or the ruling power. The word Democracy is used, then, in contradistinction to the word Monarchy, the rule or control of one man—a monarch, a king, or tyrant—and an aristocracy, the rule of a few men—heretofore the patricians and nobility! Sir, there is nothing in this *demo cratia*, this rule of the people, that is at all frightful to me, nor should there be to any but to those who would usurp their inalienable right to control, and to tyrants.

What, sir, is there then in this Democracy that seems so odious and revolting to certain gentlemen here? Is it the power of the people that they dread? Is it at the idea of their control that makes them tremble and turn pale? Or is it their judgment that they so much deprecate? Are they those that are to be expelled from "your Capitol as the ignorant servile crew," as announced by your proud bank autocrat? Gentlemen should pause and beware, lest the people understand distinctly what they mean by these bitter denunciations of their control, power, and influence in this Government. Sir, they will, and do understand it, and will apply the remedy, as soon as they are disenthralled from the influence of partisan presses, by whose representations they are so often betrayed, bewildered, and deceived, and will in due time teach all false orators the fallacy and folly of their arrogance and presumption in relying too much upon their stupidity, credulity, and ignorance. They all know, and will soon better understand, for what all this denunciation of the Democracy is intended; at whose "control" this "poisoned dart" is aimed.—Sir, the word Democracy, let me tell the member, is another word for the people's rights, the people's "control," which, the officer repeated, the officer denounced, the more strength it will acquire with those who would be the freemen of this country. Neither his ridicule, nor the sneers and taunts of his party, can or will ever bring it into contempt or disrepute, but with those who at heart are the true enemies of freedom, and of the equal rights of freemen.

What was the true meaning of this tirade, of this ridicule, of this Jeffersonian-Jackson-Van Buren-Democracy, dwelt on with such peculiar delight by the member from New Jersey? Why connect with it his Loco Foco and Fanny Wrightism, but to bring it into disrepute? With whom? With the people themselves, and to disgust them with their own rights, with their own power, with their own control. Could this be misunderstood? What is the whole tendency of this war against the Democracy, but to lessen the claims of the people to self-government, and the character of their claims to control that Government and those that wield it? Sir, all such attacks are aimed directly, or indirectly, at the sovereign power of the people themselves. They are but covert and insidious attacks on their right to control, and of self-government, made under various delusive and deceptive pretences. Such is no new mode now, of assailing popular rights by their enemies; it is their "way," and has ever been since the first dawn of public liberty and equal rights. This Jeffersonian-Jackson-Van Buren-Democracy, that is now attempted to be held up in ridicule, and amidst sneers and scorn,

may be the war-cry of future ages, to rally around the standard of Democracy the friends of freedom and equal rights upon every soil where liberty has a devotee.

Connected with these illustrious names, the character of American Democracy can never suffer disparagement by bitter, unrelenting denunciations of disappointed, broken-down, soured, Presidential aspirants, or by the accumulation of coarse and vulgar epithets that may be heaped upon them by their minions, whose daily avocation is to cater for them here.

The member from New Jersey, sir, has entertained us with a dissertation upon "dandies," and the qualities that constitute one, and here let me say to that member, and I do it with feelings of the best kind, and in no spirit of ill-will, that he has touched upon forbidden and sacred ground. The member seems to have forgotten what has recently clothed this House in mourning, and roused to madness, with public indignation, the people from one extremity of this Republic to the other. The member seems to have forgotten, that he is responsible for what assaults he may make here against a distinguished individual; he cannot presume that any here are too ignorant to understand his insinuations against one of the first officers of the people of this country. The member is certainly grossly ignorant of the character that he has so wantonly, and without the least provocation, assailed; he must be ignorant that he is forming combustibles, that may involve this House by their explosion, in consequences far more deplorable than any which have been recently witnessed, as painful as they may have been to many. Let me say, were that individual present, against whom these extraordinary insinuations have been so unjustly made, it might require a guard of armed men to conduct the member safely to his lodgings. Sir, I am astonished at any rational man, whose conduct here would invite or justify the resort to such consequences, particularly after what has so recently happened before us. The language of the member illy comported with the dignity of that House to repeat: I will not do it in the precise language of the member; a proper respect for the House would forbid it. I understood him to say, however, to use as decorous language, as I well can, that "the Democrats had turned dandies," and that "the dandies had a great liking for dandies," and that dandies had a close affinity to dandies "or blackies."

Sir, what a classical allusion? What refined wit have we here? coming too from one of a party professing all the "decency" and decorum of the country. Were I one of that party, if never before, I should now for the first time feel humbled. I know there are some high minded men of the party to which the member belongs! Some, sir, that would do honor to any country, and I can but feel, feel, for them on the present occasion.

Such allusions, Mr. Chairman, are unworthy of this House, and of the seat that the member occupies. Sir, he has acted, no doubt, without advisement on the present occasion with the senior members of his party, and to none but the very dregs of his own party, that from often disappointment, have become indifferent to every sense of shame and decency, can such allusions be agreeable or approved of.

Sir, I hope that such loathsome insinuations may be deemed unworthy of notice, and that they may end here; but I have my forebodings, and can but caution gentlemen against the indulgence of such a course, if they appreciate the high character of this House, the good order and peace of society.

So far from the remark being true, that the Democrats are "dandies," the exact reverse is true; and the member must know it. The Democracy are the laboring and working men in every country, and in every section of this. They are mostly of your hard-handed mechanics, laboring men of every description; manufacturers, raisers of produce of every character, planters, farmers, ploughmen of the soil, who aim to procure a livelihood by their honest industry. They are strangers to the follies of foppishness and dress, and have no faith in those that delight in such, and are consequently often ridiculed by your light headed "dandies" and city cockneys, for the plainness of their deportment and simplicity of apparel: to call such "dandies" is a perversion of terms, bearing with it a species of intended deception, to escape the immediate detection of the most superficial observer.

Of all the artifices to which the enemies of Democracy had yet resorted for the delusion of the people, this was unquestionably one of the most shallow; it was self-contradictory, and could but recoil on those who had advanced it.

The member had forgotten, it was to be hoped, that he was addressing an American Congress. He could not seriously intend such an address for this body: I cannot for a moment believe that he did. This address was most evidently intended for his constituents at home. The member had been truly imprudent in making this House the battery from which he was to discharge volleys of abuse against his political enemies at home, to the great delight and glory of his friends there. The selection of the place was truly unfortunate, in many particulars, for such exhibitions, and had ever proved so. This house was never intended as an arena for huzzing displays, to gull, excite, and delude the people, by a bold and reckless discharge of every species of political balderdash, to the great annoyance and obstruction of all important public business. It was a most erroneous idea, that seemed to be entertained by certain gentlemen, that they were sent here to cater and huckster for low party purposes, and to serve their Presidential candidates. Sir, this is no part of the duties of a member of Congress. It belongs more appropriately to another place. These are matters that should be settled by the people at home; placed far from the influence and excitement of Congressional intrigues. Had the member consulted some of his seniors in making this singular and extraordinary attempt, they would have told him, from sad experience, the inutility of making electioneering harangues on the floor of Congress, with a view of effecting an influence abroad. Sir, the attempt has been before made here, and has failed, and proved worse than abortive. The halls of Congress are the last places that should be converted into political and electioneering arenas, and can never be done but at the expense of the great purposes for which we are constitutionally assembled here.

It has never been attempted without inflicting a wound, either on the feelings of one party or the other, or at the great obstruction of public business, and the important interests of the country.

If such remarks are intended for home consumption, and to effect ulterior interests there, I put the question, as the member professes himself a political economist, if the time he has consumed, and which he will cause to be consumed, will not amount, in fact, to more than twice the amount of expenditure to which he has made his objection. I venture to affirm that the speech of that member has and will cost the Government more than twice the amount of the appropriation upon which it has been made.

This, then, is a specimen of the member's economy in public expenditures. If, however, the true object of the member is to address the people of New Jersey from the floor of Congress, would it not be more economical to the Government to write them a circular, as is usual amongst members, and have it published at his own expense?

Sir, it would be by far more in accordance with that rigid economy that the member has so zealously advocated, and of which I myself approve.

Had that member to pay out of his own pocket the expense for the loss of time to the Government and to the people, by his long electioneering speeches, it is much to be doubted whether we should have them as long and as frequent as the member is disposed now to afflict the House with. It is to be hoped if in future any member is disposed to address his constituents in an electioneering speech, if he is a strenuous advocate for economy, that he may do it at his own expense. He [Mr. B.] could never give his consent that the time of this House, which was intended for higher purposes, should be consumed in mere electioneering billingsgate, for the edification and instruction of the most reckless and dissolute partisans. A wise man had said that there was a time and a place for all things, and it never was more applicable than to the present occasion. The member seemed entirely to have forgotten that any expense that he and his party might run the Government to, would be at all felt by the people, or objected to. He seemed unconscious that he and his party had concurred in and supported nearly every extravagant expenditure that had been made by the Government for the last ten years or more. He had been exceedingly unfortunate in falling upon the subject of extravagance, as it was the very subject, above every other, of which his party could have been shown to have been most guilty.

Extravagant appropriations and prodigal expenditures, it could be easily shown by the records and journals of the House, were, most of all others, the crime of the party to which the member belonged, and of which they could at all times be most easily convicted, or whenever it might be thought necessary by their opponents to convict them. Should the member in future be disposed to commence his political huzzings, it were greatly to be hoped that he would select some other arena than the Hall of the House of Representatives. Such a course was too expensive to the public, and too well calculated to embarrass the public business, to the inconvenience of the great body of the community. He, therefore, hoped that the practice would not be repeated on that floor either by the member or by those who acted in concert with him there, as all could, on its first blush, see its most glaring impropriety.

But, sir, the member had, in his usual mode of pursuing a back trail after the scent had become stale and cold, in his onslaught against the measures of this Administration and the Republican party, fallen back and pounced upon the back of our old, venerable ex-President. He had showered volley after volley of abuse on the head of Gen. Jackson, and had represented him as faithless, imbecile, treacherous, and deceptive, characterised throughout by only one prominent feature, and that was ignorance. Every charge the American people had again and again impliedly pronounced unfounded, & without a shadow of justification. Sir, these charges were resurrectionary, and had long since been consigned to the tomb as thrice related calumnies; and it was to be regretted that any could be found who had the boldness now to repeat them? The member from New Jersey, like the honorable member over the way from Pennsylvania, [Mr. BIDDLE,] seemed never to have risen in that House to speak to any subject, however irrelevant or trivial, that the spectre of that time-honored old veteran soldier and statesman did not appear continually to haunt his disturbed imagination! And why was all this? There never to be an end to the malignity of a disappointed, unrelenting, defeated party? Why pursue longer an individual who has so often been tried by an inquest of his countrymen, and on every occasion been pronounced "not guilty"? Is it courageous, is it generous, is it magnanimous, to carry on this war against an individual in retirement, who has so often defeated and overwhelmed you with shame and confusion whenever you have dared to meet him before the great tribunal of his country? or is it the mere howling of the jackal after the lion has left the field of prey?

It was unnecessary to characterize the kind of courage that such a course continued to display before the eyes of a discerning public. The effects of all such attacks could only be compared to the file and the gnawing viper. The fame of that illustrious man could not be affected by the denunciations of the whole host of malignant spirits who now embraced every occasion to riot in his absence, and glut their morbid appetites in pouring out their venom against the character and fame of one whom they can never reach; and between whom and themselves and their friends such is the distance that all comparison is lost. Sir, would it were that these gentlemen could know the immense & unmeasurable space that existed between their friends and them and the object of their hate! And why this more than mortal hatred to this distinguished and time-worn veteran? Is it because the Democratic people, in defiance of the screws and mandates from the "marble palace," have seen fit, in their wisdom, twice to honor him with the first office of the world? Does it spring from that inherent hatred that gentlemen and their party have for the power of the people to the control? Does it spring from this innate hatred towards the Democracy, the idea of whose control in this Government filled them with so much horror—the enemies of popular rights?

Sir, this illustrious man is not so much to be

blamed for his elevation, as the people are themselves, who alone could have effected it. Why not then speak the truth, and denounce the great body of the American cultivators of your soil, farmers, manufacturers, raisers of produce, mechanics, and laboring men of every description. These are the men who are to blame for President Jackson's election, in opposition to the power and influence of your rag and paper aristocracies, banking institutions and brokers, swindling stock jobbers, privileged corporations, &c. They were the only true antagonistic interests, that had been arrayed against each other, in the election of President Jackson. It was by this array of this latter combination, that the measures of his administration had been so violently opposed, and denounced in the most unmeasured terms; but it was by the former interest, that he had been twice triumphantly elected, and which he never had failed to devote the whole of his energies to sustain, at any and every hazard. It was for his defence of those great interests, that the Democracy had rallied to his support in every section of this Republic, and it was in the furtherance and support of those great and essential principles that that same Democracy had now rallied in the support of the principles of the present Administration.

President Van Buren stood committed in favor of the interests of the true yeomanry of the nation, which compose the producing and working classes of every community: while the opposing interests would be found, when properly examined into, to consist of the non-laboring and unproductive classes of the country, whose ingenuity had been taxed, since the first dawn of society, how to arrest from the hand of the honest laborer the profits of his industry, and of the planter and producer the fruits of their honest toil. These were the great natural divisions in the first organization of society. They were now, as then, the only true antagonistic interests that had been arrayed against each other in this country, ever since the appearance of the veto message of 1832. The influence of the Bank of the United States, and all other similar institutions had never been of a laboring or producing character, and could, consequently, have had no fellow sympathy, or identity of interest, with that class of the community. But not so with the other interests. It was the fostering and prolific parent of every species of non-laboring and unproductive influences; and it was by the aid of this great machine of modern invention, wielded by a most skillful, though a non-laboring and a non-producing interest, that the unprofitable, unproductive classes had acquired such ascendancy in many sections of this country; and should such an influence, with such interests, finally triumph in this Republic over the productive and laboring interests of the country, it would prove a calamity more deplorable and fatal to the best interests of this nation, than all the calamities combined that had ever afflicted this country, since our first settlement as a colony of vassals from the shores of Britain.

Sir, it is impossible, when the game is fairly understood, that the mechanic, manufacturer, planter, producer, and laboring man, can ever consent to place at the control and disposal of a gambling, banking, non-laboring, non-producing class, the profits of their labor, and the produce of their plantings. Such a demand is as unnatural as it is illiberal and unconstitutional; a thing to which this people will never submit, except by a temporary delusion, and a diversion from their true positions in society—the arts to effect which, however, have been no less numerous than untiring. By the aid of the great capitalists of these institutions, a great portion of the public presses in every section of the country had been suborned to subserve their interest, and to promote their ambitious and aggrandizing views; by the use of such, had the people been so long kept in partial ignorance of the true nature and designs of these opposing parties.

Their facilities to corrupt and establish presses were immensely greater than any that either the people of this country or their Government possessed, nor had any thing been sparing in their efforts, either by direction or indirection, in subsidizing them, wherever it had been found practicable. It was by such means that this non-productive interest had grown with such gigantic strides, and threatened to control the profits of the whole laboring and producing classes of the country, to the importance of which it was impossible that this people should any longer continue indifferent or ignorant.

But the member from New Jersey had been exceedingly unfortunate in his selection of a subject on which to pour out his vials of gall and wrath on the devoted heads of the friends of this Administration. The member had been too impatient for attack to have possessed himself of the proper "vantage grounds." It might have been well for him to have paused awhile, until he had gained the true position of the enemy, and the facts, as they existed on this subject in relation to his own friends. The member could not have been aware of the position they occupied upon the subject before the House, which had called forth his most bitter and extraordinary effusion. The member certainly could not have known that the very measure which had brought forth his very bitter and unrelenting denunciation, was concocted, and originated, and brought in, at the special request and instance of one of his own best friends. Yes, sir; this extravagant proposition—this prodigal measure—this most useless appropriation—which had been the theme of that member's bitterest reprobation, had been introduced and reported at the special request and recommendation of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings, (Gov. LINCOLN of Massachusetts,) a member fully worthy of the place he occupies, distinguished as a member of this House, and more distinguished as one of the party to which the member from New Jersey belongs. He is no Democrat, and cannot be suspected of having any particular attachment for this Administration, or the measures it pursues. A gentleman in every sense of that word, and whose membership would do discredit to no party in this or any other country.

It had been at the request and instance of that distinguished gentleman that the measure had been proposed, that had been denounced as so monstrous, and as evidence of the extravagance of this Administration. He would not undertake to argue the propriety of that appropriation. He would not look to it. It had been reported by the acquiescence of both parties, and he thought it a matter too immaterial to consume the precious time of that House on, particularly

after its meeting with the almost unanimous support of both parties in the two committees. The game, he thought, too insignificant to embarrass the important business of the House in playing, though it might ultimately be found to be improper, which seemed from every species of information that had been yet given on this occasion was far otherwise. If, however, there was blame to attach to any party there for the measure, he could assure the member that it would not attach to the Administration, or to the odious Democrats. He would have to look to another quarter on which to saddle its guilt.

In the course of the member's truly singular and eccentric dissertation upon political economy, he ingeniously fortified himself by a most redeeming confession, and surely it had had much weight with him [Mr. B.] After enumerating a catalogue of abuses, and a great number of appropriations for one object or another, and that appropriations had been made for the civil list, the army, and contingent funds—an idea, by-the-by, somewhat bright to inform the House of at this late day of its history—he had declared to the House, by a most precious confession, that he was a "novice in politics," and was little acquainted with the manner and nature of those appropriations. Why, then, if a novice, had the member undertaken to play off there the instructor? It required no ghost from the dead to inform the House of his being a mere novice in legislation; nor did he think that the member himself was under any necessity of informing the House of it.

The member had expressed the greatest desire to learn why such such appropriations were proposed, and their objects; assuming to himself at once the double capacity of teacher and scholar.

Now, if the House had to learn every gentleman every reason that had influenced it in bringing forward every measure on which it might be proper to act, it would be placed in a most embarrassing condition. It might happen that it would have but little else to do. He did not look upon it as one of the appropriate duties of that body to take upon itself the instruction of its members there. Information upon nearly every subject embraced in the bill had been called for in some shape or other, and placed on the table of every member of the House; and it could do no more: it would not, he hoped, undertake to make members read them. Every latitude had been granted (and he was glad to say by both parties) to the demands for information to be laid before the House; and if gentlemen did not acquaint themselves by that means of the nature of the business, and the reasons upon which it was carried on, he confessed he knew of no better mode by which it could be done. Besides, there was something incumbent on the members themselves. It was their duty to acquire information for themselves, both out of, as well as in, the House.

He hardly presumed that the member professed to stand in need of so much information on the subjects of legislation, while electioneering on the hustings in N. Jersey; he doubted much if the member had not then professed to have known all about it. Had it been otherwise, the people of that State would hardly have taken it upon themselves to have sent a learner, "a mere novice," in legislation here, to transact their business.

The member had therefore in another way, paid a poor compliment to the intelligence and sagacity of his constituents. It had, in his judgment, even been one of the greatest misfortunes to the people, that their representatives, after getting to Washington, learnt too much.

They were too often taught different politics here, from those they professed, when elected. It was exceedingly unfortunate that we came here to learn either our politics or morals. It was by such learning, and from such a source, that the people had been too often placed under the necessity of changing their representatives. They were too apt to learn here, very different lessons from what they had learned at home; and by this means, much of the simplicity of our republican form of Government had been departed from, and no party had ever suffered more severely by such drilling and learning here, than had the old truly Republican Democratic party of this country.

It was here that their representatives had constantly been won over by the splendor of egotism—the intrigues of distinguished leaders—the great conveniences of a great moneyed controlling institution, from the economical simplicity of a plain Democratical Government. It was against this mode of learning and instruction of members here, that he had ever protested, as being repugnant to the best interest of every constituent people of this nation. It was, in his estimation, treason to any party, when any change was effected in the course of their representative, while here in the discharge of his duties. It was a source of much of that party rancor, that was so much to be deprecated in every community. It was but natural, that when a representative deserted the party here, that had elected him at home, that he should move heaven and earth afterwards, in search of an excuse to justify that desertion: better, far better, in his judgment, that these changes should be effected at home, in the presence of the people, whose agents we professed to be here.

Scenes of this kind had become matters of daily occurrence, disreputable alike to the representative body, and the people whose want of sagacity had induced them to select a changeling, to be played off on, by every artful intriguer, and to be used up by any canny politician, who might temporarily stand in need of his services. Sir, it had been such men, after having been literally used by men of superior parts, to justify their desertions of the people's interest whom they represented, had conversed mere specks of improprieties into mountains of corruption, and joined in the great chorus of alarms and panics, to divert the attention of the people from the infamy of their own desertion and treason to the great interests of their people. There was no subject to which the great body of the people should look with more intense anxiety, than to that of the desertion of their representative of the principles and interest, to carry out which he had received their suffrages. It was from such apt representatives of the Democracy, who so easily learnt things here, that they had ever had the greatest danger to apprehend, and by whom they had so often been betrayed. He trusted most sincerely that the time had well nigh arrived, when the intelligent people would brook such impositions and base betrayal of their interests, principles, and sentiments, no